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Modern Tongan tradition refers the origin of the name Haamoa (Samoa) to a war between Tonga and Samoa, which Tonga won. After that the name Hamoa was applied, because when asked how the war was going, the soldiers replied, "Hamoa," meaning "to kill chickens," thus derisively referring to the defeated Samoans. I regard this merely as a folk etymology. 173 648

That Niue had also come under Tongan dominion is recounted by Ella (22, p. 231), who, after referring to the Tongan defeat by the Samoans, writes:

> A similar Tongan defeat is given by the Niue Islanders, accounting for their deliverance from Tongan domination, also effected by a stratagem which issued in the destruction of the Tongans.
>
> In the Ellice and Gilbert groups there are remarkable histories of Tongan tyranny endured by those simple people. Even in Fiji the Tongan power was felt and dreaded.

A trader in the Ellice Islands, Captain Allen, informed me that the modern population of Nukufetau Island is Tongan in origin, and that Reynolds Island is Samoan. Some Ellice Island place names are Tongan, such as Nukufetau and Niutao. 167

The frequency of Tongan visits to the windward islands of Fiji and the presence of Tongan blood in the population is dwelt upon by Hocart (32).

That Tongans settled in the Cook Islands seems probable on the evidence presented by Gill (28, pp. 167, 287, 288). The inhabitants of Tikopia (Tucopia, or Barwell Island, Santa Cruz Islands) are probably the descendants of Tongan castaways, according to Rivers (51, vol. 1, pp. 298-362); and Thomson (56, p. 15) affirms that the inhabitants of Cngtong Java, are descendants of Tongans. Shipwreck is doubtless the cause of some dissemination.

THE FAMILY

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FAMILY

No undoubted word for family was obtained. The word *kainga* (relatives) seems to be the nearest approach inasmuch as it is bilateral in application. Modern Tongans use the English word "family" in the form *famili*, and sometimes the Tongan word *faahinga*. The word *fale* (house) is used of the Tui Tonga's family, including all his wives and children. As do Europeans, the Tongans conceive of a family both as a small household group and as an enlarged group comprising collateral relatives both through the father and the mother. 59

The Tongan household seems anciently to have consisted of a man, his wife, and their offspring, together with any adopted children. Through polygamy the household might be considerably augmented. The establish- 592 [595]

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At Tongataboo we noticed just the very reverse: in the presence of the aged the younger persons observed the most respectful silence. . . .

In the Friendly Islands marriage is general, and, except the chiefs, they seem to have only one wife. It is said at Tongataboo, that adultery is punished with death. There, and at the Marquesas, no infant murders are allowed; but, contrariwise, they are fond of their children, and take pleasure in a numerous family. Though at the decease of Tibo Moomŏoe [Tui Kanokupolu Mumui], and during his illness, some cruel and inhuman practices are mentioned, yet nothing comparable with the horrible human sacrifices at Otaheite. In another feature also they differ, as old age is as much respected at Ohitahoo and Tongataboo as it is neglected at Otaheite.

Elsewhere (66, p. xlix) Wilson remarks: "The women were far less immodest [than those of Eastern Polynesia]; but the men were more generally addicted to the pepper-root draught, here called kava."

The manner in which an establishment set up by a newly married couple may be augmented is illustrated by the following example. When a Hihifo (western Tongatabu) chief married a Hahake (eastern Tongatabu) woman, some of the wife's relatives came to live with the couple at their home in Hihifo. When a child was born still more came. They would look after the pigs, and the plantations. They did more for the couple than did the husband's relatives, although they too were supposed to aid. This is a manifestation of the superiority of the husband's side of the family to the wife's.

RANK WITHIN THE FAMILY

Rank within the Tongan family involves two fundamental factors, sex and age. Of the two, sex is unalterable and may transcend age. A woman is always superior in rank to her brother regardless of seniority and it follows from this that a woman's children are always superior to her brother's children. After sex, relative age becomes the determinant for rank. Generally speaking, older sisters outrank younger sisters and older brothers outrank younger brothers.

The father's side of the family is the chiefly (*eiki*) side, the mother's side of the family the commoner (*tua*) side.

A child must respect his father and his father's brother who are in many ways tapu to him; but to his father's sister (*mehekitanga*) he must pay even greater respect. It is she who is really supreme in the family. Her person, food, clothes, and bed are tapu; she often controls the matrimonial destinies of her brother's children. The respect which is shown her is extended also to her husband. In other words, a man marrying a woman has the same sort of social superiority to his wife's brothers that the woman herself has. It is the woman's relatives who frequently serve her and her husband. A striking example of this principle is revealed in a curious practice. While eating, the people of Niuafoou Island turn their backs to

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of the Lineage of Takalaua. This delegation of the Tui Tonga's temporal duties probably took place about 1470. It marked the beginning of the eclipse of the Tui Tonga, an eclipse which became total with the death of Laufilitonga in 1865. The Tui Tonga retained the privileges and honors of his exalted position, which gave him the best that the land provided in produce and beautiful women. After Kauulufonua I, no more is heard of vigorous warrior kings. All military activity seems to have passed into the hands of the subsidiary officers, notably the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu.

Concerning the relations of Kauulufonua I to Samoa, Krämer (36, vol. 1, p. 468) says:

"In Samoa heisst er Tuitoga Faisautele (grossen Menschenfrass machend). Er heiratete die Vainu'ulasi (gen 18) und zeugte den Fa'aulufanua (IV. C. b. 5, p. 301) und den Ulualofaligā von Fagaloa (flp.). Er heiratete auch die Popoai und Taufaitoa (gen 20 in IV. C. b. 2) und zeugte den Tuiavi'i, Togialelei und Puipuifatu, wahrscheinlich die drei hier folgenden Tuitogā."

Of the three sons of Kauulufonua I mentioned by Krämer only Puipuifatu became king. He did not directly succeed Kauulufonua I, as Vakafuhu intervened. In what relation Vakafuhu stood to Kauulufonua I, I do not know; possibly he was a brother of Kauulufonua I. It is of interest to note that Puipuifatu was half Samoan, as apparently was Kauulufonua II, who according to Krämer was his half brother. Apparently Tongialelei attempted to seize the throne after slaying either his father Kauulufonua I, or his father's successor Vakafuhu. He was opposed in this by Puipuifatu (op. cit., p. 304).

25. Vakafuhu. Concerning Vakafuhu, whom Tongan lists give as the successor of Kauulufonua I, I have no data. Krämer (op. cit., p. 469) has the following to say regarding the possible identification of this king in Samoan sources:

"Ein Aloiva'afulu wird in der Vaea-Geschichte (IV. B. c. 12, p. 268) genannt. Auch von Fitiuta auf Manu'a ist ein Va'afulu bekannt (p. 378 gen 18), was um so merkwürdiger ist, als es dort auch einen Tufele giebt. Ein Tofele nämlich kam von Samoa und tötete den Togialelei in Tonga (siehe die Geschichte IV. C. c. 3. p. 304)."

26. Puipuifatu. The twenty-sixth Tui Tonga perhaps married in Samoa (op. cit., p. 296) and perhaps his daughter married there also (op. cit., p. 187). Krämer's information seems to indicate Kauulufonua II, the twenty-seventh king, as also a son of Kauulufonua I, by a Samoan wife (op. cit., pp. 468-469).

27. Kauulufonua II. Krämer attributes to Kauulufonua II (Tuitogafa'aulufanua) a Samoan wife, Taupoimasina, who bore him a daughter Vaetoeifanga (op. cit., p. 86).

28. Tapuosi. Krämer (op. cit., p. 469) links with either Tapuosi or Fatafehi (the thirtieth Tui Tonga), a "Tuitoga Tupoufei'a". Referring to Tapuosi, he says:

"Tuitoga Tupoufei'a? (siehe gen 24). Eine Tochter des Tuitoga mit Namen Oloitoa heiratete um diese Zeit den Tagaloafesulu (gen 22 in III. b. 4. p. 91); auch heiratete um diese Zeit ein Tuitoga die Maupenei, die Tochter des La'ulunofovaleane (III. b. 2. gen 19-20 p. 88). . . . Wahrscheinlich ist dieser [Fatafehi] oder der Tabuooi (gen 22) der Tuitoga Tupoufei'a, welcher die Sapioamoa heiratete (siehe IV. B. b. 4. gen 24 p. 249), die ja der Malietoa-Linie entstammte, an die auch der Name des folgenden Uluaki erinnert. Ulua'i ali'i ist ein in der Malietoa-und Tuiatua-linie vorkommender Name (siehe gen 23)."

The name Tupoufeia should be linked with the Tui Kanokupolu rather than the Tui Tonga, for names with the word Tupou are very common in that family.

29. Uluakimata I (Telea). The tales concerning Uluakimata I (Telea) indicate a life of voluptuous ease, in which contemplation of the beauties of the scenery and of women seem to have been the chief pastimes (26, p. 36). It is recorded that his three wives of high rank brought him, in addition to themselves, two hundred women for his harem. The transportation of huge stone blocks from Uvea to Tongatabu for the construction of his royal tomb is attributed to this king. The freight vessel was the famous *Lomipeau* (Under-the-Waves) reputed to have been built in Uvea, but ultimately buried at Lapaha, Tongatabu. It is said that the rudder of the

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30. With king 30 began a series of marriages with the daughters of the great houses of the Tui Haa Takalaua and the Tui Kanokupolu. King 30 married the daughter of the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua (she was also the sister of the first Tui Kanokupolu); king 31 married the daughter of the seventh Tui Haa Takalaua; king 32 the daughter of the eighth. King 33 neglected both the daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua and of the Tui Kanokupolu and married the daughter of the chief of Moungaone Island, Haapai. Kings 34 to 36, 38, and 39 each married a daughter of a Tui Kanokupolu. In addition king 35 married a granddaughter of one; she was the mother of Pau, the Tui Tonga of Cook's time.

It would appear that the importance of the Tui Haa Takalaua decreased so after the eighth one that their daughters were no longer sought as great royal wives by the Tui Tonga. Additional marriages to daughters of the Tui Kanokupolu who did not become great royal wives are: Fakanaanaa to Tuutongahunuhunu (daughter of Atamataila), Tui Pulotu II to Tui Lokamana (daughter of Vuna), Pau to Kongakava (daughter of Maealiuaki), Fuanunuiava to Tupoufalemei (daughter of Tui Halafatai), and Fuanunuiava to Palulongoteme (daughter of Mulikihaamea).

The harem of the Tui Tonga was extensive, for usually each regularly espoused wife of high rank brought supplementary wives (*fokonofo*) or concubines to her husband. Often a younger sister or other relative was a *fokonofo*.

THE APPOINTMENT OF THE TUI TONGA

The successor to the Tui Tonga was his son born of the great royal wife, a woman who had been properly espoused to him, and who was usually the daughter of a great chief, but not necessarily of the Tui Haa Takalaua or of the Tui Kanokupolu. Should there be more than one wife whose children were eligible, the succession went to the first born son, and after him to his younger half brother, not to his son. The succession of Kauulufonua II after Puipuifatu and of Maulupekotofa after Pau are examples of this fraternal succession.

Although the blood of the heir-apparent preordained him as the future ruler of the country, he did not automatically become king upon the death of his father. The actual installation in office seems to take place upon the calling of the new title by the person officiating as announcer at the kava-drinking ceremony, a method of installation followed for all title holders in Tonga. Laufilitonga, although the legitimate heir, did not succeed to office as thirty-ninth Tui Tonga for seventeen years after the death of his father, and came to the throne only through installation at the proper assemblage of high chiefs. However, Samoan tradition says that Kauulufonua I named his son, Puipuifatu, as his successor (36, vol. 1, p. 304). Actually, though, another king, Vakafuhu intervened.

The Tui Haa Takalaua seems to have been the chief who anciently convened the assemblage for the appointment of the Tui Tonga, calling together

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Uluakimata I (Telea), who resided for a time on Euakafa Island, Vavau, is said to have had other residences in that group (26, p. 37). In 1781 the Tui Tonga Pau entertained the Spanish explorer Maurelle in the Vavau group. During the troubled times of Mariner's sojourn, the Tui Tonga Fuanunuiava also resided there.

The stories about the Tui Tonga Takalaua tell of him beating the drum for dances which appear to have been for pleasure rather than ceremony (26, p. 65). Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 285) speaks of Pau dancing, and Labillardière (37, vol. 2, p. 158) mentions the participation of either Maulupekotofa or Fuanunuiava in dances, indicating that the Tui Tonga unbent more or less to their subjects.

The assassination of several Tui Tonga is said to have led ultimately to the delegation of certain temporal functions by Kauulufonua I to his brother Moungamotua, whom he established as Tui Haa Takalaua. However, according to Samoan tradition (36, vol. 1, p. 304) either Kauulufonua I or his successor Vakafuhu was assassinated. Thereafter there is no record of assassinations.

It is made evident by many tales and by the long list of illegitimate children that the Tui Tonga could command the person of any woman of lower rank.

Two versions of a story about a Tui Tonga and a woman named Ate are current in the island of Nomuka. Haapai—one makes Ate the Tui Tonga's wife, the other his daughter. Both versions indicate that the Tui Tonga, whoever he was, was visiting his domains beyond the bounds of Tongatabu.

One version of the story runs as follows (see page 78 for the other):

> The woman Ate was not a chief's daughter, but was the beautiful daughter of a man of Haafeva Island who was named Fauolo. Ate had already borne a child, by a man she was not living with, at the time the Tui Tonga visited Nomuka.
>
> All of the women of Nomuka came to see the Tui Tonga and, being evening, set fire to dried young coconut husks (*toume*). When the fire was lighted, the Tui Tonga fancied Ate, so he instructed the other women to extinguish the fire and depart. Normally the fire was kept burning all night when the Tui Tonga visited Nomuka. The Tui Tonga and Ate slept together. The Tui Tonga must have lived long in Nomuka for he died there and was buried in the Langi Atea. Ate was buried in a mound called Takahili Pakisi which lies in the modern village of Nomuka. She is the only person buried there, so report says.

The Tamaha genealogical records state that Ate, a Samoan woman, married Fauolo of Haafeva Island. Their daughter was Talitulelu, who married Fiunoa of Haafeva Island. Their daughter Ate became the wife of the sixth Tui Kanokupolu Maafuotuitonga.

A Samoan tale (36, vol. 1, pp. 343-348) refers to an island on which an early Tui Tonga kept virgins who were destined for his harem. Two examples of threatened burning alive of wives of the Tui Tonga are also

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recorded in Samoan tales and somewhat suggest the suttee (op. cit., pp. 94, 344).

The Tui Tonga was often borne along in a litter. If he saw a bearer who was particularly zealous and went long without a change, he would stop the bearers and tell the zealous one to run, and the man would be given the land around which he ran without a spell.

Mats and tapa upon which the Tui Tonga had rested or sat would not be used again by their owners but taken to the Tui Tonga, or passed to his retinue.

The power of the Tongan kings to commandeer labor is obvious from the number of tombs, and from such a mighty structure as the great truncated stepped pyramid of Uluakimata I, known as the Paepae o Telea. The blocks of stone of which this tomb is composed are massive, some weighing as much as 30 tons. The quarrying and moving of these huge blocks must have required the labor of large numbers of men.

The following anecdote refers to the hard labor imposed by the Tui Tonga upon their subjects in connection with the erection of the great royal tombs.

> One day, when the men were pulling the stone along from the quarry, they reached a place called Tongia. They had a short rest there and went and drank at a water hole called Anameana. So scant was the water that all was consumed before half of the workmen had drunk, so they started pulling again on the stone and dragged it to Mua. The people who did not get a drink at Anameana went down to the two little brooks which are called Pokitau and Malifu and drank all the water which was there, and yet they did not have enough. They went then to another brook called Fangafeatu and then they were satisfied.

According to a fanciful version, Mounu, an artificial pier of stones at Lapaha, the Tui Tonga's seat, was built of the refuse from the great double vessel *Lomipeau* (26, p. 68). Another version states that it was the beginning of a causeway which the Tui Tonga Pau planned to span the great lagoon of Tongatabu from Lapaha to Tukutonga on the opposite shore near the mouth of the lagoon. Whether or not Pau really planned such a work, it is certain that the construction of the pier represents the organized labor of a considerable body of workmen doubtless acting under the orders of one of the kings. The great dry moat at Lapaha is another indication of centralized control of labor.

Cook (19, vol. 1, pp. 289, 357) speaks of the Siamafuauta as a rest mound (*esi*) which was the property of Pau and he mentions also such a mound on the summit of Eua Island. Such rest mounds, surrounded by shade trees, were frequently erected for kings and great chiefs (42).

If the Tui Tonga's daughter was fed so lavishly that she began to lose her waistline or develop other traits of unloveliness, the servants who were responsible for the overfeeding forfeited their lives at the Tui Tonga's discretion.

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be killed because of marriage with *tua* women. However, I doubt if this happened often, for the amours of young chiefs seem to have been regarded as proper. Be that as it may, the statement was made that there are but few chiefs to-day who have no *tua* blood in their veins. Anciently a young chief, if he could find no bride in the chiefly class, was supposed to marry the daughter of a matapule. The offspring of such a marriage naturally would not have so high a rank as the offspring by a chiefly wife. In polygynous marriages the children rank according as their mothers are ranked. Of the several sons of a chief, one only, and he usually the eldest by a woman of chiefly rank, inherited the father's title and position, the others retaining only their names and receiving no title. In the official kava ring (*alofi*) only the title bearer could sit, his brothers having to sit outside of the ring behind the kava makers in what is called the *toua*. Younger brothers and their descendants became virtually the servants of their older brothers and sisters.

The manner in which blood becomes adulterated by marriage is illustrated in one of the great chiefly families of to-day: the preceding holder of the title had a number of sons, all of whom married women of *tua* rank, except the father of the present title holder, who married a chiefly woman. In ancient times the offspring of *tua* women by chiefs were somewhat like serfs, inasmuch as they were bound in service to their hereditary lord and master, the great chief, or his son who succeeded him. Thomson (54, p. 222) has summed up the relationship of chief and commoner:

> The Tongans had reached a stage of development midway between the patriarchal and feudal systems. Their chiefs had the blood of the founder of the family in its purest form, and were the earthly incarnations of their deified ancestors. Each chief had hereditary retainers who followed him to battle, and obeyed him in time of peace; but the constant wars during the latter half of the eighteenth century had created a lower class of servants than these—the *tu'a*, children of prisoners of war. These, together with the illegitimate children of the chief's father or grandfather (his cousins, in fact, for a chief bred servants for his descendants), were in the nature of serfs, leading, however, an easier life than such a designation would imply. The missionaries had perhaps read of Peter the Great and Wilberforce, and they too panted to win the grateful admiration of posterity. To their heated fancy the people appeared as slaves, because they yielded service without fixed wages, and nothing would content them but a formal liberation. They did not stop to reflect that these "serfs" were fed and clothed by their chief, and that as members of his household they enjoyed privileges which men of their low rank could not hope for in other societies.

On June 4, 1862, the Tui Kanokupolu George I declared all chiefs and people at liberty from vassalage and serfdom.

Most commoners trace relationship, some perhaps fictitiously, to one of the great chiefs, including the Tui Tonga. Four great chiefs told me that all commoners are related to chiefs and matapules, and conversely that all chiefs and matapules have commoner relatives, such relatives in fact, usually constituting the following of a chief.

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On the morning of the sixth day the boys went out and bathed in the ocean. This bath was called *kaukautapu*. Each boy took oft his own bandages and bathed without anyone's aid. When they returned to the shore the operator and two assistants met them and redressed and bandaged the boys in the same fashion as formerly. This bandage is said to have had no name other than *lalava*, or *haihai*.

There followed a big feast, although the operator was furnished free food throughout the period. All the women ate by themselves; the men ate with the boys. The tapu was lifted and this fact was announced to each boy by his father or male guardian. A present of oven products (food), mats, tapa, and other materials was assembled by the fathers of the boys and presented to the operator. Other ovens were opened for the general feast in honor of the boys. No present was given them. Even if a boy died from the operation, as sometimes occurred, the father of this boy contributed his share to the present for the operator. The boy was always believed to have died because he broke some one of the tapus. After this feast, the tapus were resumed for four more days and nights. Bandages, like the first, were worn for two weeks after this feast. The tapus are said to have had no names.

MARRIAGE

Collocott (12) has published a brief account of marriage in Tonga, but it seems worth while to present my data here, as they are fuller in some particulars.

Marriages are classified as *feofaaki* (for love), *aleaï* (arranged) and *fatongia* (duty), this last term applying only to cross-cousin marriages. To marry two wives at one and the same time is called *hamaua*.

Wilson (66, p. liv) states:

> Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death.
> The lascivious practices which are almost universal there [Georgian Islands] seem to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class.

The Tongan term for prostitute is *muitau*. It is perhaps to such a person that the term *finelangatotoa* (a woman who steals home from her paramour's house before the break of day) would be also applied.

The principal relative concerned with marriage plans of young people is the father's sister. She may often take upon herself the ordering of the marriage arrangements of her brother's children and may veto their plans of marriage and impose her own. A girl destined to become the wife of a chief wears two long tresses, one on each side of her head.

As mentioned by Collocott (12, p. 222) an oven of food (*veifua*) is presented to the bride by her brother.

The sororate (*tongipou*), following the death of the wife, was practiced in Tonga but the levirate was said to be infrequent. Cross-cousin marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughters was common among chiefs, but rare among commoners. A girl who becomes the bride of her cross cousin is denoted by the term *kititama*. Marriage to identical cousins was regarded as improper. The only such marriage recorded was on Ata Island where were also a considerable number of cross-cousin marriages

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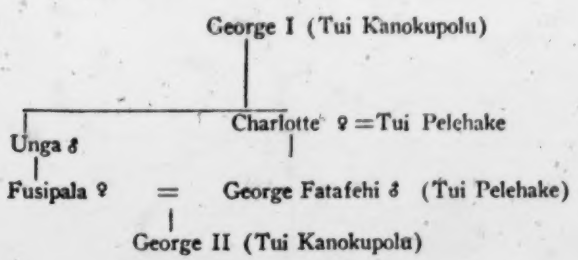
(p. 281). An example of marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughter follows. It is said that the other form of cross-cousin marriage, i. e., to the father's sister's daughter, occurred, but was rare.



Cross-cousin marriage is metaphorically called *takaifala* (rolling up mats), for it is said of the woman that she goes to roll up the mats of her father's sister's son. In cross-cousin marriage it was the sister's child who held the higher rank in the marriage on account of being *fahu* to his spouse. Cross-cousin marriage is to-day called *mali* (English marry) *fatongia* (duty); that is, a marriage of duty, referring to the duty of the brother's children to look after the sister's children.

A *fokonofo* is a supplementary wife or concubine brought by a bride to her husband. Should a bride select her *fokonofo* from within the family, which was the custom, they were either younger sisters, persons from the inferior or mother's side of the family, or the daughters of the father's younger brothers; apparently the daughters of the father's sisters who were superior relatives could not be taken by a bride as *fokonofo*.

The *sinifu*, or concubines, of a great chief usually occupied a single large house, where they might be visited by the chief, or whence they might be taken to the chief's house. At the chief's house lived his favorite or the wife of highest rank (*maitaki*). The term *sinifu* refers to the relation of the woman to the man, while the term *fokonofo* refers to the relation of the inferior co-wife to the superior co-wife.

Open conversational flirtations were the prevailing form of social intercourse between a man and a single woman, but never openly between a man and another man's wife. There was no indiscretion, however, in a man's making a social call upon a woman at her house while her husband was absent. The house door was always open while any of its occupants were at home, except on occasions when some peculiar tapu might rule otherwise.

When a man met a beautiful unmarried girl on the road, it was customary for him to carry on a flirtatious badinage of words with her in addition to the ordinary greeting. He could tell whether she were unmarried if she

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heiteans, they use an expression of thankfulness for whatever they receive, always lifting it over their heads. (66, p. xlix.)

Relatives, close friends of either or opposite sex, greeted each other, after periods of separation, with the nose-pressure. Among commoners this was called *uma*. Among chiefs the same caress was called *fekita*. A commoner never kissed a chief in this manner—excepting a common woman taken by a chief as a wife or concubine. No one so kissed the Tui Tonga but his favorite wives and his immediate relatives. Others kissed his foot or his hand, according to their rank, by touching the nose thereto.

There were three forms of *uma* or *fekita*: the pressing of nose end to nose end; the pressing of the sides of the noses together; the crossing of noses and pressing together of nostrils. These various methods have no specific names. There were formerly but two correct methods of kissing, namely the first and third; no one but a "country fellow of low birth" would employ the second. The first was employed by relatives and friends, and the third was employed by man and wife or by sweethearts.

In passing, friends always had a conventional word of greeting. Acquaintances used this greeting if of generally equal rank. Enemies usually ignored one another. This salutation made constant use of the term *malo* (well done, it is good), implying praise or approval. For example, if A walked along a road and passed B who was pulling weeds by the roadside, A would say: "Malo e hua" (Well done your pulling weeds). B would answer: "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, well done your walking by).

Or two men pass each other in fishing boats: A says, "Malo e toutai" (Well done your fishing). B responds, "Io, malo e toutai" (Yes, well done your fishing).

Also, A, carrying a burden by means of a *haamo* (shoulder) stick, passes B who is digging yams. A says, "Malo e keli" (Well done your digging). B responds, "Io, malo e haamo" (Yes, well done your carrying a burden).

The special greetings proper to different ranks are given in the list of Tui Tonga and chiefly words.

Delicacy and circumlocution in referring to another's affliction are marked in Tongan conversation. An excellent example is afforded by Thomson's account (54, pp. 279-280) of a leper in Parliament.

The act of registering fear, inferiority, subjection, repentance, or humility is called *hu*, which is done by placing a necklace of Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) leaves about the neck and sitting with bowed head and hands folded tightly in the lap.

To serve food on a green banana leaf, called *fakaloufusimata*, is a mark of distinction to the one so served. The term *malangafao* refers to the custom at a distribution of food of people rising to fill their baskets with food. Gifts presented at a feast are thrown down.

Men at times sit in the same style as Samoans, one foot on the opposite knee. The more usual style is tailor fashion. (See page 126.)

Babies are carried in a cloth slung over the back and passing under a woman's left arm and over her right shoulder. The baby is usually placed with both feet pointing to the left. They are carried astride the hip, too.

Men wear their shirts tucked inside of the *vala*, or skirt worn about the waist. This cloth is longer than the Samoan *lavalava*, reaching to below the knees and often nearly to the ankles.

Women wear their tunics hanging outside the *vala* around the waist.

Men frequently wear a flower, usually hibiscus, over the ear.

The eyebrows are frequently lifted in assent while listening to the conversation of another.

Diving into water from a height is done feet first, arms out.

Men shave the hair from the legs.

Women shave off the pubic hairs and pull out the axillary hairs.

Men use pieces of coconut husk as toilet wipers, while women use old tapa. The Samoans use stones, a custom regarded contemptuously by the Tongans.

Old men wear the hair shorter than young men. Women, after the menopause (*paa*), also wear the hair quite short.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Lifuka Island]

In making obeisance to the god on the occasion of some disaster, the people would place around their necks wreaths of *ifi* leaves and don white tapa on their heads. They would remain outside and make obeisance. If their purpose was the cure of a sick person, the person would be brought on a kind of litter or bier and placed outside where the people were sitting. The patient would be massaged and anointed by the priest and would recover. 776 782 755 [757]

In the holy place were various trees. Should anyone pluck of them that person would fall down near unto death. If taken to the god, he would recover. If the carriage to the god's house was not speedy, death would result. 776 778 784 753

When the god entered into Havea, his priest, it was noticed that Havea trembled. His face changed color and he "looked dreadful." Havea had concubines who resided in the place called Manikolo. These were allotted separate periods with Havea and slept with him in pairs, one to be with him in the day time and the other to be with him in the night time. 776 793 [787] [595]

The people said prayers to Uluenga. The god had his graveyard which was called Haa Fakanapa. 776 782

There was a god in Koulo, Lifuka, whose name was Tangakina. The name of his premises where he had a home, was Nahakalau. People prayed and made supplication to him. If persons were sick they would go to the god's place. They remained outside of his house, however, bending the body in respect. The god also had a water hole called Faatoto, which means "often blood stained." [778] [516] 778 [823]

Deities of Foa Island

In addition to the account of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua (p. 297), the informant Mesake Lomu of Fotua, gave me this report of another god of Foa Island:

Fakatoufifita was the god of the chief Niukapu in Fangaleounga, Foa. The people prayed to Fakatoufifita and if any person was sick, they would cut off the finger of another and take it to Fakatoufifita as an offering, which was wrapped in an unfinished piece of tapa (*fetaaki*). The patient would immediately recover. [755]

The god (priest?) lived in his house in Fangaleounga on the premises known as Fungasi. There was a sacred basket of the god's, inside of which were two objects, a whale's tooth and a parcel of turmeric. [793] [778]

Deities of Haafeva Island

Tonu and Lahe, presumably male deities, were mentioned as being associated with a well or spring which was regarded as their property. The spring is called Matahiva. 776 778 [823]

Deities of Fotuhaa Island

My informant did not know the name of the patron deity of Fotuhaa, but said that the name of the tract in the bush where the priest of the god lived was Laulea. This god seems to have been besought if there was a drought, the people bringing coconuts and wreathes (*sisi*) and making kava in front of the god's house. [821] [782]

The god, while in possession of the person of the priest, drank the kava. After the kava drinking the spokesman of the people, usually a matapule, would tell the god that the island had been long without rain and that rain was desired. The god, speaking 776 793 787 821

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

formerly they used bamboo) to try their skill in carving with speed and dexterity, which is considered a great recommendation. A considerable part was shared out to the chiefs, each taking his portion and putting it in his bosom*. The remainder of the pork was then heaped up and scrambled for at an appointed signal. The woman who had laid herself down, covered over with *gnatoo*, now rose up and went away, taking with her the *gnatoo*, and the basket containing the bottles of oil, as her perquisites. Tooitonga then took his bride by her left hand, and led her to his dwelling, followed by the little girl and the other four attendants. The people now dispersed, each to his home. Tooitonga being arrived with his bride at his residence, accompanied her into the house appropriated for her†,

* It is a peculiar religious injunction in this ceremony, that the chiefs should put their pork in their bosoms, for they never eat it themselves: and as it is *tabooed* by touching them, no other native of the Tonga islands may eat it: so that it generally falls ultimately to the lot of the natives of the *Fiji* islands, or other foreigners present, who are not subject to the *taboo* of Tonga. For the nature of the *taboo*, reference must be made to the second volume of the work.

† It must be noticed that every great chief has within his fencing several houses, one or more of which always belongs to his wives. He seldom goes to their house to sleep: he generally sends for one to sleep with him; at least, this is always the case with Tooitonga, for nobody can eat, drink, or sleep, in the same house with him without being *tabooed* (see *Taboo*.)

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

6. The border or edge of anything is *kapa*, and I presume that *tau kapakapa* is the reduplicated form of that word, indicating the edge of the house. [539]

7. The inference is that Tongamauluau is exerting malign influence over Kulakehahau, and it is probably implied that she is not truly human. The narrator just here refers to Anumatenifa as *tevolo*, but whether it is meant that she herself is not really human, or merely that she is behaving with inhuman malignity is not clear. [192]

8. I do not know the meaning of the expression, *he funga ua*, but conjecture that although Kulakehahau and Anumatenifa dwelt in the one house it was in a condition of separateness from each other.

9. By the expression "kin of my father," Kulakehahau indicates that Anumatenifa could not be his wife. [602]

10. The variant which follows mentions that Tongamauluau went with only bark cloth wrapped round her.

11. An additional wife, or wives, brought to a man by his wife are termed *fokonofo*. A woman apparently frequently brought her own younger sisters, or other relatives, as *fokonofo*. Perhaps Tongamauluau means that when Kulakehahau deserted her to live with another woman it was because of a new love, not a new wife that she herself had provided, but just an unreasonable whim. [595]

12. The pining of children for absent friends and relatives is called *manatu* (remember). This is regarded very seriously by the Tongans. [858] [828]

Pages 41-43. Tongamauluau and Kulakehahau, a variant

1. Aofitoki and Aouli are said to be the names of two kinds of cloud. [821]

2. The meaning of *aituo*, a rare word in present-day Tongan, is difficult to discover, but apparently it is the shout of jubilation as a chief leads away his bride. [192]

3. Cloth with unprinted edges cut off is called *lotoingatu;* it is suitable for a chief's dress. [291]

4. The term *huluhulu-tuu* indicates "not put on in the usual way of the kilt (vala), but worn so as to cover the bosom." [291]

Pages 43-44. Tuiolemana and the crab

1. There is a mixture in these names of Tongan and Samoan forms. In Nukuseilala, *nuku* is a Tongan form, and *seilala* Samoan; *tui-o-le-mana* may be wholly Samoan. [197]

2. The word *mimimi* is commonly used to mean suck, but Labillardière reports it as used in a context where it apparently means sexual intercourse. [192]

Pages 44-46. Kalikihevae and the son of the Tui Tonga

1. It is possible to read the Tongan as though the disease had just developed as they reached Hihifo.

2. Tongan women frequently chew food to soften it for their children. [857]

3. The candlenut is a very popular detergent. [515]

4. The inference is Nua had already borne a child, but so beautiful was she that this did not diminish her desirability.

Pages 46-49. Vaenuku and Lepuha

1. The word *muo* is translated (29) as *distributeur, qui parle pour le chef; Ko 'ene mu'a, c'est son*, second. I have found nowhere else any reference to the custom. The second day of the three days assigned to marriage festivities is marked as the bride's bathing day. This bathing must be a special one, as no Tongan, unless in exceptional circumstances, omits the daily bath. Presumably the maiden's leaving her compound to go to the bathing pool was held to present an opportunity for an interview or, perhaps, for beholding the lady's charms. [539] [585] [515]

2. Presumably the meaning is that the maiden and Vaenuku had met and she had accepted him as lover; that is, the bride is announcing to those concerned the successful suitor. [539]

Pages 49-50. Fragments of a poem of Lepuha and Vaenuku

1. This name is also written Vainuku.

2. I am uncertain whether in the Tongan of this line the word is *si*, the plant

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

537 592 829 571 **448. Nonofo nonofo iloa ae tae oe nonofo:** Living together, living together, the excrement of the living together (or of those living together) is discovered.

Baker renders it: "To live together for a length of time, and then find out the evil of so doing." This seems a very likely meaning, but the expression is also explained as equivalent to the English, "It's an ill bird that fouls its own nest."

539 622 565 602 431 **449. Tangi ke vikia kae au ae kainga:** Desiring to be praised but the relatives badly off.

This particularly indicates a chief who makes a liberal distribution of his food and other wealth, but overlooks the claims of his own immediate followers. He may earn the reputation of generosity from numerous people who have benefitted by his ostentatious gifts, but those whom every consideration of justice and gratitude should have recommended to his most kindly treatment are left to suffer want. Also written, *Holi ke vikia*.

539 595 183 577 **450. Hala a jinifu:** Wrong-doing of concubine.

Wrong-doing, punishment for which involves others besides the actual offender. If one of the wives of a chief proved false to her lord the whole harem shared her guilt and punishment.

539 603 571 **451. Ofoofa a kui:** Love of grandparent.

The love of grandparents is very sincere but their anger is to be dreaded, as in their wrath they may strike the offending grandchildren how and where they will. The love of one whose affection is undoubted, but whose position of authority is such that he may punish without let or hindrance.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

539 584 [726] **452. A maumau taimi:** Awake, wasting time.

Applied, for instance, to the man who spends his evenings wooing a girl whom he has no chance of winning. Used also in derision by the warriors inside a fortress to the foe whom they see outside watching early and late for an opportunity to force an entrance.

[177] In its present form with its employment of *taimi*, a corruption of the English time, this phrase is modern, but with the slight change to *A maumaua*, waking to no purpose, it may well be ancient.

453. Anefe ha taha a Majilamea: When was there anyone of Majilamea?

A beautiful chiefly girl of Vavau was courted by a chief of Majilamea in Vavau. This gentleman was not a very glib speaker nor apparently was he very lavish with his gifts to the lady. His courting was evidently a rather dull infliction on the damsel. She was wooed and won by another man who was not a chief, but who had the art of pleasing speech and the

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 caves, and left only the door-way open, which was
342 never closed, night nor day.

285 Such spacious habitations are necessary for the
352 chiefs, whose household, in general, is large, as com-
175 posed of many attendants. But there are generally
342 small apartments contiguous to the house, in which
565 his wives and children lodge. One of his wives,
however, for the most part, slept with him in the
175 same room, in a space, separated from the rest by
342 inclosures of Takkabou, or matting, three feet high,
565 fitted up to the beams, that went across to the cen-
595 tre post, to keep it upright.

The household of Mulkaamair was considerable.
175 He had at different times from four to eight wives,
592 eight sons and five daughters, besides many atten-
565 dants. The children were all in great subjection
554 to him, and of different rank and dignity, according
611 to the rank of their respective mothers. For fa-
586 mily dignity, in Tongataboo, descends not from the
father, but the mother, owing, it is probable, to
596 the frequency of divorce, and of illicit intercourse.
When the day declined, about seven o'clock, if they
175 were not disposed to dance, they would retire to
513 bed, or, more properly, to recline on their matting.

But when they had retired, the most social em-
175 ployment of the day took place. As they lay reclin-
513 ing at their ease, Mulkaamair and his numerous
521 household, that lay round him, would commence
conversations, that amused them till they all fell
asleep.

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

the choice of their partners. The young man anticipates the interview with the lady's parents with much the same feelings of confidence or trepidation as animate the breast of his European contemporary in like circumstances. It is not always the good will of the girl's own father that must be won, as his inclinations may often be overborne by his elder brothers, or by his sisters—the "brothers" and "sisters" may of course be cousins near or distant—who are his superiors in the family conclave. The chances are that the lovers' wishes will be met, but the young lady does not as a rule pine in the face of an adverse decision, and the disappointed swain is more likely to find comfort in the reflection that there are other pebbles on the beach, than to indulge gloomy musings upon the unkind fate that has stood between him and his soul-mate. 582 [222] [602]

Occasionally head strong youth refuses to acquiesce in the parental prohibition, and the lovers elope. If they are both of age the Government permit to marry cannot be withheld, the religious ceremony follows as a matter of course, and the happy, or almost happy, couple wait with a confidence, which experience usually shows to be well founded, that the resentment of their kin will be short-lived, and that, like the philosophers they are, they will accept the inevitable, and acknowledge the undutiful son and daughter by a performance of the proper nuptial rites. 583

The youth who goes a-courting is frequently moved to call the muse to his aid, and to tell his adoration in "songs of sweet-scented flowers," compositions which, though rather rough in form, display much poetic feeling both for love and some of the beauties of nature. 584 533

The old practice seems to have been for the matron's hair to be cut differently from the maiden's. The virgin wore two long locks at the back of the head, but at marriage these were cut off, and the hair then allowed to grow an equal length all over the head. Although marriage was marked by extensive ritual the bond was easily terminable. No life-long guarantees were expected or given. Late in the eighteenth century one of the artisans in the party sent by the London Missionary Society to Tonga fell in love with a Tongan girl, and a date was fixed for the marriage. Previous to the ceremony the missionaries explained to the young lady the nature of the bond she was about to contract, but at the mention of a life-long union she promptly refused to go on with the matter. She was quite prepared for a union for as long as their mutual liking dictated, but would not be bound "till death do you part." 302 884 836 585 586

The great chiefs had numerous harems, but it cannot be inferred that there was any degrading inferiority of women. The Tongan, indeed, is justly proud of the position which his women-folk have always enjoyed. Genealogies show that great ladies frequently had many lovers. The system was free and easy, and the women fared 595 562

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

as well as the men. The structure of society provided in practice the independence of women, which is the dream of some modern feminists. It is necessary for the European to rid his mind of associations of nastiness in dealing with these matters, and to remember that the Polynesian receives the facts connected with the handing on of human life with the same simple candour as the phenomena observed in his garden or anywhere else. I have overheard a man, whose domestic life is impeccable judged by strict European standards, discussing the numerous loves of a famous chiefly lady of bygone days, and his comment was what an extraordinarily fine woman she must have been to be desirable in the eyes of so many husbands, to all of whom she bore children.

In general it was probably an honour for a girl to attract the attention of a chief of high rank, and apart from marriages marked by the elaborate exchange of gifts, there were many less formal unions, which did not lead to a girl becoming a regular inmate of a chief's compound. A girl who is taken to a chief is sometimes said to "roll his mat," indicating her duty of rolling up the sleeping-mats and making herself generally useful about the person of her lord. A village used sometimes to select a beautiful maiden to be the temporary mate of a chief, and bear them a babe of lofty lineage. The child was called by a special name indicating that he belonged to the whole village. Children are desired by both men and women. In the marriage ceremonies described in Tukuaho's diary there is a blessing of the bride, "And may you bear children, yea twins."

For a man to succumb to the attractions of a girl of inferior rank is not uncommon, but for a woman to condescend to an inferior is rare; or it may be expressed in another way, that a man would scarcely dare aspire to a lady of superior station to himself. Such aspirations would be resented by other men as offensively presumptuous. This led to the frequent marriage of the female Tui Tonga, the highest woman of all excepting her own daughter, to a foreigner. It is only in a comparatively recent period that the genealogies exhibit certain cases of the marriage of this august lady, and in these instances the bridegroom always belongs to one or two houses of Fijian extraction. The first recorded marriage of a female Tui Tonga is to a chief who actually came from Fiji; but the outside blood once introduced sufficed to give the house enough of foreignness to exempt its members from the restrictions that bound the Tongan, and to provide bridegrooms for the exalted brides. This lady must have been so restricted in the choice of a husband as to have been generally a strict monogamist. It was not uncommon for the wife of a chief to obtain other wives for him, usually it would seem, selected from amongst her own younger female relatives over whom she had power or influence. These secondary brides were

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

called *fokonofo*. The Tongan creation myth relates that when the gods were first a-courting, and the world was in course of coming into being, one of the goddesses secured as *fokonofo* for her husband two of her sister divinities, and tradition ascribes to the ancient king Tui-ta-tui, wives so successfully zealous in adding to his harem, that even Solomon's household does not appear by comparison the outstanding achievement that the unenterprising European might regard it.

The chiefs were said to have a pre-emptive right to all the women in their tribes. In theory the chiefs had the absolute disposal of the persons and property of their people. Stories are related of the king Tukuaho—not the diarist—which show the harsh caprice with which a great lord might treat his people, as, for example, when he ordered the hands of his cooks to be cut off because they had prepared his food badly; but the murder of this tyrant after less than three years of his sullen rule shows that, in Tonga as elsewhere, natural human reactions impose practical checks on theoretical absolutism. Evidently the chiefs freely used their privileges in love, but there is no reason to suppose that the lower orders of society were thereby deprived of mates. Intrigue with the wife of a superior, however, was a very grave breach, and might even lead to the man being killed by his own people, without waiting for the vengeance of the chief. On the other hand there is a story of a king who left his wife and babe in charge of another man whilst he went on a voyage, but found on his return that the pair had abused his trust. He forgave them both, and gave the lady as wife to his unfaithful friend.

Cousin marriages are rare. Brothers and sisters are called by the same term as first cousins, and more distant collateral relatives. All these "brothers" and "sisters," near and remote, are alike *tabu* to each other. There are restrictions, on the whole well observed, but weakening in these latter days, on the most ordinary intercourse between youths and girls so related. More liberty in the matter of cousin marriages is accorded the great chiefly families than to commoners, and a cousin marriage (probably when it does happen a mating of rather distant cousins) amongst the lower orders of society is spoken of as an imitation of the chiefs. In the days when the Tui Tonga chieftainship flourished there was a well established custom for him to take as his principal wife, and the mother of his successor, the daughter of the Tui Haatakalaua, the chief next in rank to the Tui Tonga. At a later period, when the Tui Haatakalaua chieftainship had declined before the growing importance of the Tui Kanokupolu, the daughter of the latter lord used regularly to become the principal wife of the Tui Tonga. This resulted in the cross-cousin marriage of the Tui Tonga to his mother's brother's daughter.

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

595 622 The rank of the children of the various wives of a chief depended on that of their mothers. In the case of two wives of equal rank the elder normally took precedence of the younger, and her children over those of the younger woman. A wife might so win her husband's affections as to cause him to grant precedence to her children over those of an elder woman of equal rank, but favouritism could scarcely avail to elevate the children of a specially beloved wife above those of a higher chieftainess. A special term was used for the principal wife.

831 832 [778] [776] [585] [554] Many stories are told of handsome men, called *mana'ia*, possessed of *mana*, supernatural power, whose charms were irresistible to the ladies. The patron of these boudoir knights was Jimilau, the god of beauty, whose gift their handsome persons were, and who were themselves sometimes even called Jimilau. The custom obtained, and is more or less perpetuated in modern marriages, for a maiden to present a particular mat to the man to whom she gave her virgin love, and the prestige of the *mana'ia* was in proportion to the number of these trophies he had won.

The *mana'ia* was prepared for his amorous calling with the carefulness of an aspirant to a learned profession or an athletic championship. His friends and relatives, male and female, omitted no attention that should increase his attractiveness. All that was demanded of him was that he should look well, and fascinate the ladies. [554] High rank, though valued, was not indispensable; but it is [565] obviously improbable that the profession of lover could have been open to men of very humble birth. Even personal courage and 831 prowess were not essential—merely good looks. The name and fame 832 of notable male beauties are perpetuated in tale and proverb, and 538 extraordinary sway over ladies' hearts is ascribed to them. It is related that a chieftainess was about to be married to a great lord; the nuptials indeed had commenced, and the guests were seated on [309] the first evening of the ceremonies in a house with the bride. A specially favoured *mana'ia*, who desired the girl for himself, thrust his hand, on which was tattooed a distinctive mark, through a hole [584] in the thatch roof. The bride-elect, thus apprised of who awaited her without, slipped from the house, and eloped with the *mana'ia*. [554] I am told that the *mana'ia* had no real status in Tongan social organisation; but that families forwarded the interests of their handsome men merely to assist them to form advantageous connections, and collect large quantities of mats and cloth, in which they all might share. The first holder of the great Tungi title was [555] called Tungi Mana'ia, and tradition ascribes his elevation to exalted [644] rank to his personal attractiveness, but the genealogies show that this is a mistaken notion, as in his veins flowed the highest chiefly blood of Tonga. The present Tungi is the consort of the reigning Queen.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

574 431 578 178 extent, and form the chief source from whence evils arise, among church members, which require the exercise of discipline by the Missionaries.

181 577 The morals of the Tonguese were never so thoroughly debased as those of the Sandwich or Society Islanders, and other groups that might be named; but there was enough, nevertheless, to show how low humanity could fall, when without the restraints and sanctions of a Divine faith.

595 Polygamy was common, the number of a man's wives depending upon his own inclination, and his ability to keep them. Some sentiments relative to

[837] [586] connubial fidelity prevailed, which may be said to have bordered on morality; for, after the parties had lived together a while, mutually pleased, it was considered disgraceful to separate. There were also some, even among the better classes, who were content to live with one wife only; and examples of domestic happiness were by no means uncommon.

847 Infanticide did not disgrace the history, and destroy the vitality of the Tonguese nation.

855 888 Children were nurtured with great care and affection; and aged people were not subjected to the neglect and cruelty that was dealt out to such persons in Fiji and other Polynesian groups. Yet,

181 831 with all this, there was much lasciviousness, and want of natural affection.

152 266 There can be no doubt as to the existence of cannibalism in these islands in former days. It never became so prevalent as it once was in New Zealand, nor so truly atrocious in its character, as it now is, or has been in very recent years, in the islands of Fiji. It was customary, however, in times of war; and strange tales are told of one

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 ... ...ga 009
Nukuleka

KINSHIP ORGANISATION AND BEHAVIOUR IN A CONTEMPORARY TONGAN VILLAGE

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I should like to thank Professor Toichi Mabuchi for suggestions and Professor William Newell for criticism of the manuscript. I also wish to thank the villagers who so kindly assisted me in my work.

Preface

This is a descriptive study on the kinship organisation and behaviour of Tongan commoners in a contemporary Tongan village. It will discuss the following questions. 1. Within what kind of kinship network do people live in a rural area of Tonga today? 2. How do they behave in such a network?

Kinship in Tonga has been variously described in the literature. According to G. P. Murdock[1] the Tongans are classified as an extended family type with polygamous household; patrilocal residence, but matrilocal residence as a patterned alternative; limited polygymy; absence of any unilinear kin groups; bilateral kindred; cross cousin marriage is disapproved symmetrically but not specifically forbidden. In these characteristics we do not find any particular kin group except kindred. But, on the other hand, R. Firth,[2] and others,[3] discuss the *ha'a* which is called an optataive descent group or sept or ramage.[4] According to their definition the *ha'a* is not of a kindred type but resembles a lineage in several ways. Are there, then, two types of kin group in Tonga? If there are two, how do they work together? Through the intensive study of a small village, I will try to clarify the above point.

I stayed in the Kingdom of Tonga from July 1962 to February 1963, and the field work for this paper was done in Nukuleka village from November 1962 to January 1963. Nukuleka is located in the eastern part

1. Murdock 1957: 681.
2. Firth 1957: 5.
3. Davenport 1959: 562.
4. Sahlins 1958: 139-159.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

each to serve a certain number, these generally divide again, so that one seldom sees above two or three eating together. The Women are not excluded from eating with the Men, but there are certain ranks or orders among them that can neither eat nor drink together; it begins with the King but where it ends I cannot say.[1]

Amusements Of their amusements I need add nothing to what has been already said on this su[b]ject in the account of the incidents that happened during our stay at the islands.[2] Polygamy is

Polygamy allowed to the Cheifs, and it is no uncommon thing to meet with some who will tell us they have got eight or ten wives, but the most of them are satisfied with one at least many had no more. Some of us were of opinion, that the most of those which they called their wives were only concubines, and that there was only one that was looked upon as the wife and who always appeared to be the Mistress of the family.[3] As chastity at first sight appeared to be held in no great estimation, we expected to have found frequent breaches of the conjugal fidelity in the Married Women or kept Mistresses, which you please, but it was the very contrary. I do not know that our whole Stay produced one instance; neither are those of the better sort that are unmarr[i]ed more free of their favours, its true there are no want of those of a different stamp, and perhaps they are more numerous in proportion to the number of people than in many other Countries; but it appeared to me that the most, if not all of them, were of the lowest class of people, and such as came to our people were Whores by profession and brought to us in order to make the most of the present time.

Diseases This commerce has unhappily entailed upon them the Veneral deasease, as we had not been long at Anamocka before some of our people were affected with it, and I had the Mortification to find that all the care I took when I first Visited these islands to prevent this dreadfull desease from being communicated to them, prove enefectual. What is extraordinary the people do not

[1] The general rule was that inferiors could not eat with superiors: the Tu'i Tonga could not eat in the presence of the Tamaha, and so on down the whole scale of precedence. There was also the brother-sister *tapu*, the sister being of higher rank than her brother.

[2] '... to their private diversions may be added their household ones, the men have a game calld Kaka-'habo exactly like our Cup & ball. The Children have plays familiar to themselves, as throwing up 5 or 6 balls & catching each successively, this is mostly a Girls diversion, the boys cut a string exactly in the same manner as we do a Garter & take off & on in various shapes & ways from the fingers, they walk on Coco nut shells as we do on stilts by means of a Cord thro: the hole of the Shell with many other plays like our Children.'—King.

[3] This was so, though to equate 'concubine' with 'kept mistress', as Cook does in his next sentence, is not quite happy. The word must be used in the technical polygamous social sense: a Tongan bride might bring her husband a *fokonofo*, a secondary or supplementary wife, selected by herself from her own family, perhaps a younger sister—or perhaps

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

seem to regard it. As we saw no signs of its bad effects, probably their way of living greatly abates its virulency. We observed several who had ulcers upon different parts of their bodies, some of which had a very virulent appearence, particularly those in the face which were shoking to look at; on the other hand some seemed to be cured and others in a fair way, but this was not effected without the loss of the nose or best part of it. But this cannot be the effect of the Veneral as they were subject to it before the English vesited them, unless they had the veneral desease before which they say not.[1]

Traffick No Nation in the world understand Traffick or Barter which they call *Fagatou*[2] better than these people, neither are there perhaps any Indians that traffick with more honisty and less distrust, we could always trust them with our good[s] to hand one to another to examine and they put the same confidence in us; if either party repented of the bargen the goods were reexchanged with mutal consent on both sides. At first we imagined their knowlidge of trade might rise from their traffick with the neighbouring islands, or with one another; but we were afterward assured that they had little or no traffick either amongst themselves or with any other islands except Fidgee from which they get red feathers and a few other articles mentioned before. It is at this island those few earthen Vessels we have some times seen among them are made.[3]

Manufacture The principal Manufacture in these islands as well as many other in this sea is their cloth, the making of which is very minutly discribed in Hawksworths Voyages Vol. 2, page 210.[4] But though this Cloth is made of the same Materials as that at Otaheite yet it is of a different nature and the latter part of the process in making is different. After the layers of bark are properly cleaned, they are placed one by the end of another till they are a yard or at the most two yards in length, but seldom bro[a]der than the layer of bark which is about three or four inches. When the fibres are adhered together it is ready for the Mallet with which it is beaten on the smooth side of a piece of wood in the same manner as at Otahiete, till it is as thin as Coarse Gause. Very often they take the layers of

more than one. The *sisifu*, or concubine, had a regulated position and recognized rank.

[1] Once more, from this description, one suspects yaws. But skin ulcers, extremely unpleasant to look at, might arise from a variety of causes in the islands, even from an untended cut or coral scratch.

[2] *fakatau*.

[3] Cf. II, p. 265, n. 6. Twentieth-century archaeology, it may be added, is finding traces of the potter in the most unlikely islands.

[4] From Banks's description; see also Banks's *Endeavour Journal*, I, pp. 359–60. Cook's own brief description will be found in I, pp. 132–3. The journal-keepers found it very hard to refrain from describing *tapa*-manufacture; and indeed it is a fascinating thing to watch. The Tongans are still extremely adept.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

& twirl it about with great celerity so as not to let the balls touch each other; & have a game in which they alternately throw one hand towards each other, closing it quickly & repeating something, at the same time throwing down a bit of stick from several which they hold in the other hand;[1] besides some others, as repeating the numbers by pairs, at each time leaving out the first & taking in another &c. The Children have games peculiar to themselves as throwing up four, five or even six balls so dexterously that they catch them successivily & have never more than one in the hand at the same time, which is chiefly practis'd by the girls. The boys walk with a string drawn through half a Cocoa nut shell on which they put the opening between the great toe and next at the convex part, and hauling up the string take long strides as we do with stilts. They cut a string exactly in the same way as we do a garter, and take off one in various ways from the fingers,[2] with several other things of that kind which differ little from the pastimes of our boys.

We have not yet been able to discover whether their marriages are made lasting by any kind of solemn contract, but it is certain that amongst the bulk of the people Monogamy is the mode of men & women living together, and though the superior sort have commonly several women it does not appear that Polygamy is allow'd to any but their king, though the others are undoubtedly intended to supply the place of several.[3] It seems however of less consequence that the marriages should be rigidly binding where the free intercourse between the sexes amongst the younger sort is not at all reckoned criminal but rather encourag'd. The men in these cases seem to be the proper judges of what ought to be done, and often do not spend much of their time in a tender courtship, a circumstance which might be reckon'd a great rudeness did not the women on their side encourage it by a ready compliance. In short both men and women seem to have little knowledge of what we call delicacy in Amours; they rather seem to think it unnatural to suppress an appetite originally implanted in them perhaps for the same purposes as hunger or thirst, and consequently make it often a topic of public conversation, or what is more indecent in our judgment, have been seen to cool the ardour of their mutual inclinations before the eyes of many spectators. They seem to imagine that the same freedom prevails amongst other nations, at least with respect to us, for they never

[1] Mariner calls this game 'liagi', and says it is 'the first and most important of all Tongan games'; his description is in II, pp. 221–2. *Liaki* means to swing, toss, or fling, but does not now seem to be applied to a game.

[2] Cat's cradle—Tongan *matamatakupenga*—is widespread in the Pacific.

[3] *though the others . . . several*: it is difficult to see what precisely Anderson means by this.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

neither punctur'd nor circumcis'd as all his subjects are,[1] and when he 643
sits down it is always by himself, the people seating themselves before [304]
him at a distance in a circle or rather semicircle. No inferior chief,
not even his brother, can eat in his presence though his servants 643
sometimes do, but not before they have paid him the usual mark of 644
obeisance and wash'd their hands. This last mark or touching the foot 576
call'd Môė Môėa is frequently paid to the other chiefs, but on public [264]
occasions every one presses to salute the King in that way with great
eagerness, while the others are scarcely notic'd, in so much that it
sometimes becomes troublesome to him, & few enter a house where he
is that neglect it, either at coming in or their departure. The women
also frequently perform more than this simple method of salutation,
for they not only touch the chin, cheek & crown of the head with his
foot but strike it with great force against their breast. When he leaves [695]
the island the same respect is paid the son intended as his successor,
and indeed at all other times, or if he leaves any particular article
that belongs to him, as a piece of cloth or vessel of any kind, they are
oblig'd to Moe Moea to it in his absence; but if we understood them
properly this inanimate representative posesses a power quite super-
natural, for they say if a person steals any thing and amongst others
is put to the test by touching this he will certainly confess when it
comes to his turn, or if not will afterwards certainly die for his impiety
or presumption. H[e] is said to be the only person allow'd to practice 643
Polygamy, and as a mark of regal distinction wears a bunch of flags 595
or palm leaves as colours to his Canoe exactly in the manner of our
Ensign, calld Goola.[2] Another mark of respect paid to his family is the 643
inferior people being obligd to lower their Yams which they carry on 644
a pole from their shoulder and, holding them in their hand, stand 576
aside till those have pass'd by. We have also observ'd that food of all [482]
kinds both dressd and raw were brought him at all times of the day [264]
from different places, which he generally ordered to be distributed
amongst his attendants, and that seemingly without any previous
notice having been given; from whence it is probable each person
knows the stated time he is to furnish him with a certain quantity of
provision, especially as we never observ'd any kind of store near his
house. In short, if not actually at least nominally he enjoys the 643
privileges, power & respect of a very potent person—especially as

[1] Superincision rather than circumcision was the Tongan custom. The Tu'i Tonga was too sacred to be allowed to undergo pain in his own dominions, so that if he were to be tattooed it would have to be in some other island—e.g. Samoa.

[2] The word for flag or ensign is now *fuka*. One of the meanings of *kula*, or 'Coola', says Mariner, 'is a species of the paroquet'; so it is possible that the use of it Anderson gives was a metaphorical one.

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

edges of each plank which are brought to join, thro which they are lash'd to one another. The large sailing Canoes are two single ones join'd together (but each of much larger dimensions than what we have describ'd) by strong rafters lash'd across, over these is built a platform or stage extending in length from the deck of one Canoe to the other, & in breadth projecting considerably beyond their sides; on the After part is placed a hut resembling a Cylinder divided lengthways & resting on it inside, or when a shed is placed on the side, it is a longitudinal section of the above hut; here sleeps the chief & his Women & here their Goods are stowd away. The Mast is short in proportion to the Vessel & placed in one of the Canoes, before the middle part, inclining forward & to the opposite side,[1] some fix'd & others made to unship; the Sail is tri-angular, the longest side fixd to a Yard about twice the length of the Mast & hoist'd up to it; the Sail has then an oblique direction, the broadest part uppermost, & ending in a point coming down with the yard a good way before the Mast almost close to the Stage. They have a stout boom, which they use as an outrigger, well secur'd by strong ropes from the Mast head & from each end of the Canoe: this, when it blows fresh & the boat heels, some of the Men go out & stand upon. The size of one of the largest I saw was about 70 feet long, the Extream breadth of one of the Canoes or boats about 3 feet & the depth 5½, the length of the Stage 30 feet & breadth 16½. The measure of a Sail of middling size, in that part fix'd to the Yard, between 50 & 60 feet; the broadest part of the Sail, or base, between 30 & 40 & the lower side from 45 to 50. These Canoes are of diff[t] sizes & will carry from 30 to 70 people. They have also single sailing Canoes with the outriggers very stout. The Tools with which they perform their works in Architecture & boat building are a stone Hatchet, an Augur made of Sharks teeth & rasp made of rough fish skin. . . .

Marriage. Whether Monogomy or Polygamy is the mode among these people we cannot positively say, or whether their engagements are binding, or attended with any ceremony or contract; the bulk of the people had only one Wife, but Powlohow & Feenow had several women, whether considerd as lawful wives or only one & the rest Concubines is a matter of doubt to us. It should seem from Powlohows having elder sons by other women than the one who is to succeed him, that some of his Women had a superiority over the others. Where a free intercourse with the Sex does not appear Criminal, & where there is little appearance of delicacy in their Amours, their Marriage Contracts are not perhaps binding; the Men are free from jealousy, & made no scruple of our having intimate Connexions with the Women, & they convert'd this intercourse to their advantage by fixing a price upon it; the Women when the Ship was here before were by no means backward on their parts; but now there is an evident disgust on their sides which however avarice gets the better of; by no means all the women are to be understood to be purchasd by our riches, all the married

[1] The foregoing details indicate that the canoes here described were *tongiaki*, not the Fijian-influenced *kalia*, with (for instance) the longer mast.

to the use of land. For every two householders with 'api tukuhau there was a further householder who was sharing land with a relation. The situation with regards to 'api kolo demonstrated the social significance of land still further—a third of the householders were sharing the 'api of relations.

Just as no village family could rely entirely on subsistence agriculture, few families in the town could rely entirely on wages. The town's economy, like the traditional peasant economy outlined by Franklin,[18] is labour and not capital intensive, kin relations serve a socio-economic role and there is a close attachment to the land. It would be erroneous to talk of per capita income in Tonga; the important consideration is family income. Although not entirely controlled by the head of the household as chef d'entreprise, the broad direction of spendings earned by members of a family is the concern of all the family, especially so in times of crisis or investment in education. And the families, though nuclear by residence, are extended in terms of mutual recognition of services and obligations.[19]

It would not be fakatonga, the right behaviour in terms of respect within Tongan society, to deny a relation access to land, residence, employment or a share in family success. If these are characteristics of a peasantry, one can only say that they are common to all of Tonga, rural and urban. Town dwellers are inescapably bound up with the land. They own it as much as villagers; they rely on it to supplement wages kept low on the assumption of an additional income from agriculture, they value it as a means of fulfilling family obligations and as a measure of their social importance and they depend on it for food. There would be few established household heads, even the most wealthy and the most "urbanised", who do not have a son or relation on their land or on land acquired through their influence. It is the function of a successful household head to find employment for as many of his family as possible. The labour commitment is total and the basic unit of economic organisation is the family, controlled and directed at least to some extent by the household head.[20] A typical family would endeavour to have some member in paid employment, some on the land and some in the "bazaar" sector of the town's economy—a small grocery shop, in the making of handicrafts and other side-line businesses. This diversity in family employment provides material security in an economy which offers insufficient full wage employment; it also indicates the economic obligations borne by the chef d'entreprise towards his kin.

It should be clear that everyone in Tonga is to some extent involved in a money economy, the town dweller somewhat more than the villager but this has not yet led to any noticeable individualisation. There is little evidence of individuals trying to opt out of reciprocal

66: Walsh K-5 (1963-1964) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nuku'alofa

13. Employment figures alone are an insufficient criterion for determining "urban" and "rural" in the Pacific. This is demonstrated by comparing selected employments from "urban" Nuku'alofa with similar employments from "rural" Arorangi described by Bassett in the present volume.

	Nuku'alofa 1956 (males 20-59)	Arorangi 1961 (males over 15 years)
Agriculture, Planting and Fishing	46.3	52
Industrial	6.3	6
Trade & Communications	5.2	5
Commerce & Finance	5.6	6
Public Administration & Professions	9.7	8

14. Spillius, 1959(B).

15. Gifford, E.W., 1929, "Tongan Society", Bernice P. Bishop Mus. Bulletin, 61: 171, refers to a description of Tonga as "a fully feudal society (in which the) head of the clan has become a landlord".

16. For an historical account see Rutherford, N., 1966, Shirley Baker and the Kingdom of Tonga, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, A.N.U., Canberra.

17. For an elaboration of the effects of this parallelism or "dual framework of society", see Walsh, A.C., 1968, "Politics, Culture and Resource Utilisation in Tonga", Proc. 5th N.Z. Geog. Conference, 119-124. Note, however, that this paper uses the term "peasant" more loosely than the present paper.

18. Franklin, S.H., 1965, "Systems of Production: Systems of Appropriation", Pac. View., 6: 145-166.

19. Maude, 1965, p.50, writes "the traditional groupings or extended family in which married sons stayed in the households of their fathers is no longer the usual form". The modern nuclear family, however, still retains intimate contact with at least 50 relations according to Spillius, 1959(B), and urban families probably have more contacts than those in the villages. Nayacakalau, R.R., 1963, "The Urban Fijian in Suva". In A. Spoehr (ed.), Pacific Port Towns and Cities, 135, and Bellam, 1964, 142, noted similar findings in urban Suva and Honiara.

20. Franklin, 1965, 157, in defining the peasantry asks "What is their labour commitment, their institutional basis, their control and direction and their form of ownership...?"

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
OU9 Tonga OU9

127
565
643
wrote of Fae's death in August of that year:

> The death of this chief will make a considerable sensation through this island, he was the hau, or how, a conqueror. He became the how at the death of Takai, his elder brother, who was a great warrior and very successful. Fae, or Taufa, was a powerful chief, and a strong advocate for idolatry and a persecutor of true religion. He was a great polygamist, and had about 16 wives [stress added] (Thomas, Journal, August 12, 1833).

[771]
[595]

This account by Thomas points out that Fae was also hau, having succeeded his brother in the title. Where Gifford writes of Fae succeeding Takai upon Takai's death (1929: 209), he merely quotes a translation of a Tongan account which states Fae "ruled in his Takai's place at Pea." Gifford does not write of Fae as having been either hau, Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua or Tu'i Kanokupolu.

Based on Thomas' descriptions I would make a statement of ethnohistorical fact: Takai and Fae were both hau in the early 19th Century. I would not, however, state that Takai and Fae were either Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua or Tu'i Kanokupolu since there is insufficient evidence to support such a statement. In this instance, I accept Thomas' 19th Century first-hand eyewitness descriptions in preference to Gifford's 20th Century interpretations.

128
127
In this section I have discussed and cited three individual 19th Century Wesleyan eyewitness descriptions of a particular Tongan ceremony, the hikitanga. I have demonstrated how each description is externally consistent or corroborates to some degree parts of the other individual descriptions.

127
As an ethnographer-ethnohistorian, I am not so much concerned with the uniqueness of the descriptions of the July 23, 1833, hikitanga

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

contentment and tedium made their appearance. Many fell back to their old ways and Peter Turner himself lamented that 'these movements so soon die away' (P. Turner, Journal, 24 Nov. 1844).

However, Peter Turner pointed out that the revival had made many of the young men desire to work for God, and more than a hundred were brought forward who wished to be employed as exhorters or local preachers. Those who stood firm, chiefs and commoners alike, formed a very strong and militant team of evangelists who proved to be of great assistance to the work of the missionaries.

Foremost among these was King George himself. Before the revival movement there was an obvious want of depth in his acceptance of Christianity. When the chapel at Lifuka was constructed King George was grieved to find that the pulpit was the highest point within its walls. This was to him a violation of a taboo which maintained that no subject of his should sit or stand above him. To rectify this he had a platform built for himself on the opposite side higher than the pulpit. Later in 1833 when he took over the rulership of Vava'u he decided to inherit some of his predecessor's younger and more attractive wives as well. Peter Turner promptly disciplined him by terminating his membership of the Society.

In the following year King George repented, married Lupe Pau'u[2] in a Christian ceremony (Watkin, Journal, 27 Mar. 1834), and was readmitted to his former position in the mission. He and his wife were deeply involved in the revival movement. When he returned to Lifuka he had the tall platform in the chapel pulled down, and from that time on he sat at the same level on the floor in the chapel with his subjects. He became a local preacher, a very ardent evangelist and was instrumental in converting many of his people. Both he and his wife became class leaders assisting the development of the spiritual life of their people. Many of his fellow chiefs in Ha'apai and Vava'u followed his example.

As for the commoners, they had little to lose but rather much to gain by accepting Christianity. Now for the first time they

[2] Lupe Pau'u had been the principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, before she eloped with Tāufa'āhau in 1833 and they were married by the missionaries in 1834.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

671 It was forbidden for any women to remain indolent, and they were [562] not to be assisted or fed since 'Our assisting the indolent is supporting that which is an evil'.[3] [461]

Sanctity of marriage was again an important feature of the [581] 1850 Code in which Article VII declared marriage to be a covenant which could not be broken during the lifetime of either spouse.

797 The missionaries made no compromise regarding polygamy. Giving up all but one wife was made one of the conditions of 595 acceptance into membership of the Church. 'I told the people', wrote Thomas (Journal, 30 Mar. 1831), 'of many of their sins particularly of the sin of Polegemy. I exhorted them to put away their wives and keep one only and the Lord will then receive them into his family'. This attitude is reflected in Article VII: 671 3 which made it unlawful for anyone to have more than one 595 spouse.

Dancing was a popular entertainment among Tongans. It was 535 mainly held at night time, and usually went on until the small [832] hours of the morning. The excitement naturally whetted the sexual appetite, and couples would melt into the darkness. This was, of 535 course, horrifying to the eyes of the missionaries who, like all 797 Evangelicals, viewed dancing with disgust, as a great enticement to sin. Another reason for the missionaries' disapproval of dancing [796] was the fact that it was often performed in association with the old religious ceremonies. Their views were expressed in Clause XI 671 which forbade dancing and heathen customs with a penalty of one 535 month's hard labour for the first offence and two months for further offences.

689 The puritanical views on modesty, which the Wesleyan mission- 797 aries held, made it imperative for adequate and proper clothing to be worn in public by the new converts. 'To dress otherwise, 291 leaving the body healthy and glad in the sunshine and fresh air

[3] Knowing the privileged position women occupied in Tongan society, Neill could not understand this seemingly extraordinary law. 'It is the husband', he wrote, 'who was, and still is, the working partner and breadwinner in the Tongan home' (Neill 1955:98). It may be pointed [462] [287] out, however, that women had the responsibility of making the *ngatu* (tapa cloth) mats and so on, which were needed in the home, and this was the work to which the clause referred.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1829-1830]

in Nuku'alofa for six months before sailing to Ha'apai. During that time he was greatly heartened and enlightened by the methods and success of Turner and Cross. He also said, "The conversation of my brethren has tended much to my improvement in the language", though he had been in Tonga a longer time than they. 797

The missionaries were quick to recognize both the strength of Taufa'ahau's personality and his earnestness. Unlike Palau at Mu'a and Ata at Hihifo, Taufa'ahau did not covet the missionaries' goods but wanted the new religion for its own sake. 797 643

When inviting Thomas to go to Ha'apai, Taufa'ahau had said to him,

> "I shall be thankful for your body only (supposing Ata would take my clothes) and I will give you native cloth if you will wear it. I will feed you free of any expense. I will build you a chapel and attend myself and send all my people to be taught." (6)

And he was as good as his word.

Thomas arrived in Lifuka on 30 January 1830. Two days later he commenced with a school of 110 men and boys. His wife had 95 women and girls in the afternoons. The men's school began at 6 a.m. Thomas had to write out their lessons by hand, but, in spite of the labour, he was overjoyed with the complete change from unresponsive Hihifo. Instead of a hostile Ata he had Taufa'ahau in his school learning to read and write. On 19 February 1830 Thomas reported that he had "many chiefs venerable for their hoary locks sitting with little children learning their alphabet". Lifuka resembled Nuku'alofa — a community devoted to daily instruction and public worship. 797 872 212

Before Thomas arrived in January 1830 there were only three out of eighteen islands of the Ha'apai group that had not yielded to Taufa'ahau's rugged campaign for the new faith; these were Nomuka, Tungua, and 'Uiha. The chief of Nomuka had come to 'Uiha and conspired with its people to capture Taufa'ahau and kill his supporters, but Taufa'ahau eluded these designs. Tungua was the seat of the Tamaha, the "Sacred Child", regarded by the people as the highest personage in Tonga and by the missionaries as "the main pillar of idolatry".(7) 'Uiha was the residence of Taufa'ahau's family and their burial-place but its chief was hostile towards him personally at that time. The Ha'apai chiefs who were opposed to Taufa'ahau's policy endeavoured to enlist the assistance of Finau 'Ulukalala III, ruler of Vava'u. Finau had come to Lifuka in July 1830 for the marriage festival of his wife's sister to Taufa'ahau, one of Taufa'ahau's polygamous pre-Christian marriages. Taufa'ahau was rejecting her, after living with her for a year but, before she returned to Vava'u, a festival was held, in compliance with Tongan custom.(8) This festival gave Taufa'ahau's opponents the opportunity to force him to change his policy or to put an end to him altogether. 643 [797] [623] 643 622 595

The plot to kill Taufa'ahau in July 1830 (which occurred shortly after the L.M.S. leader, John Williams, had called at Lifuka and sailed on to Samoa) was foiled under remarkable circumstances. During the festival Taufa'ahau suddenly became violently ill. It transpired that he had accepted a drink from a hostile chief and there seemed no doubt that it had contained poison. Before long, preparations were being made to take Taufa'ahau to 'Uiha in case of death and for his burial there. At this juncture a canoe from Tongatapu brought 'Ulakai, the Christian chief and an uncle of Taufa'ahau, and he "proved a hindrance in their way", in the words of Peter Vi. The watchful Peter called on Thomas and Cross (the latter then on a visit to Lifuka) to save the Christian leader. They

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

missionaries, alleged that Finau's half-brother, Lualala, should have succeeded him; but he was half-Fijian and ineligible on that account, as David Cargill showed in his book.[34] 643 634

Shortly after Taufa'ahau's installation as ruler of Vava'u he was rebuked by Peter Turner and suspended from membership because he had taken some of the deceased Finau's attractive wives. This was in accordance with old pre-Christian customs but was a grave offence against Christian rules of morality and monogamy. Taufa'ahau told Turner that he had liberty to take the wives of his predecessor in the title and that, in any case, "Solomon was more guilty than he".[35] The missionaries felt that any favouritism toward Taufa'ahau would be fatal; already they noticed that some of the Vava'u people were being affected by his example. Turner wrote, "Taufa'ahau was at first offended and seemed to kick against necessary discipline".[36] Afterwards he confessed his fault and penitently asked to be readmitted to membership. When he was again a Church member he was married to Lupe Pau'u (Salote) according to Christian rites on 27 March 1834. He became a class-leader and local preacher on 9 October 1834. 643 595 795

An indication of the mass movement can be seen in the record of baptisms which followed many weeks of instruction. For instance, in Vava'u 240 men were baptized at one service on 25 May 1834, 213 females on 4 June, and on 18 June, 119 children of parents already baptized. The records in Ha'apai were similar. At the same time the work of translation was proceeding, and in 1834 the complete Gospel of Matthew was printed. 795 [213]

To cope with their expanding duties the ranks of the missionaries were augmented by the arrival of Charles Tucker, John Hobbs and David Cargill. It is strange that the names of Cargill and Tucker appeared in the British Conference Minutes in both 1832 and 1833 as appointments for Fiji but nothing was done to give effect to this. 797

A special District Meeting on 11 June 1834 reported that Tongan teachers had been successful in the evangelizing of Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou. Peter Turner offered at this meeting to serve on Niua Toputapu but he could not be spared from his appointment at Vava'u. At this time the stationing in the Tonga District was —

Tongatapu:		Thomas, Cross, Hobbs.
Ha'apai	:	Watkin, Tucker.
Vava'u	:	P. Turner, Cargill.[37]

The second missionary in Vava'u resided at the inland village of Feletoa where the printing press was located after its removal from Nuku'alofa. Later, the second missionary in Ha'apai was stationed on the small western island of Tungua, the residence of the Tamaha.

Charles Tucker, an unassuming type, was born in 1808 at Horton, Glamorgan, Wales. He served for eight years, until 21 May 1841. His wife was energetic and capable; her teaching ability impressed visiting sea-captains who saw her schools.

John Hobbs arrived with Tucker on 21 June 1833. He was born in 1800 at St. Peters, Isle of Thanet, Kent. He first served in New Zealand together with Nathaniel Turner, from 1824 to 1827, and he resumed his ministry in New Zealand after leaving Tonga on 8 February 1838. He did valuable work in Tonga

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[ca. 1834]

West could have said even more, had he realized the trend. The facts showed that, at every stage, the influence of the chiefs was, in the final analysis, determinative of events. The chief's attitude decided the substitution of Christianity for the old religion, and the form of Christianity that was accepted (Protestant or Roman Catholic); also, to some extent, the form of church government within the Church and even its relation to the parent body.

The early missionaries left the "chiefly Church" as a legacy of mixed value to their successors. As Richard Amos wrote to Rabone, Missionary Secretary, on 27 February 1857, the Wesleyan Mission in Tonga suffered from too much deference to a chief and too much dependence on a chief.

After the sensational successes of 1834 the missionaries felt the pressing need to develop a Christian conscience and consistent conduct among their converts. It was their misfortune to be confronted with formidable opposition that sprang up among an influential section of non-Christian chiefs and their followers in Tongatapu. The period, 1835-40, was unsettled, both politically and religiously, by war.

Footnotes:

(1) Turner, J. G., *The Pioneer Missionary*, p.103.
(2) Gilford, *Tongan Society*, p.348; West, *Ten Years in South Central Polynesia*, p.364, for Peter Vi's *Narrative*.
(3) Cross, W., *Journal*, 1 July 1830.
(4) Williams, J., *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, pp.270-8, 1839 edition.
(5) Watkin, J., *Journal*, 1830-9, 28 March 1832. A.843. M.L.S.
(6) Rowe, G. S., *A Pioneer — Memoirs of Rev. J. Thomas*.
(7) Watkin, J., *Journal*, 1830-9, 4 August 1834. A.834. M.L.S.
(8) Williams, J., ibid, pp.277-8, 1839 edition; Williams and Barff, *Journal*, 8 July 1830. A.403. M.L.S.
(9) Peter Vi's *Narrative*, in West, *Ten Years in South Central Polynesia*, pp.367-8.
(10) Thomas, J., *Journal*, ibid, 5 August 1830; *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. III, p.6.
(11) Thomas, J., *Diary and Letter-book*. A.1959. M.L.S.
(12) Thomas, J., ibid, 7 August 1831; M.M.S. records, 7 August 1831. Microfilm 43. M.L.S.
(13) Watkin, J., *Journal*. A.834-5. M.L.S.
(14) In 1832 Taufa'ahau had discarded one of his polygamous wives, a Samoan, and sent her back to her country. Evidently she had been baptized and named Salata (Salote). There is nothing to indicate any contact between her and Taufa'ahau after her return to Samoa. His subsequent promotion of Wesleyanism in Samoa was due to his denominational interests and not because of this rejected Samoan wife. (See, contra, Garrett, John, *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 9, p.65 and footnote. Also, L.M.S. *Journals*, 6 November 1832, Box 7, M.L.S.)
(15) Thomas, J., ibid. A.1959. 12 July 1831.
(16) Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 1, p.67. B.301. M.L.S.
(17) Watkin, J., *Journal*. A.834-5. M.L.S.; Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 1. B.301. M.L.S.
(18) Watkin, J., *M.N.* — 21 March 1833.
(19) Thomas, J., *Diary and Letter Book*. A.1959. M.L.S.
(20) Thomas, J., ibid.
(21) Watkin, J. to Turner, N., 30 October 1835.
(22) Rabone, S., *Journal*, 20 February 1838. Set 47. M.O.M.C.
(23) M.M.S. *Records*, microfilm 43, M.L.S.; Turner, Peter, *Journal*, Vol. 10. B.309/1847. M.L.S.
(24) *Missionary Records*, microfilm Set 42. FM.1433-3; Farmer, S., *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*, pp.171-2.
(25) Turner, P., *Missionary Papers*, 49-50. A.1506. M.L.S.
(26) Thomas, J., *Diary and Letter Book*, 12 July 1831. A.1959. M.L.S.
(27) Peter Vi's *Narrative*, in Collocott, *Papers*, 207-2. M.L.S.
(28) Turner, P., *Journal*, 21 August 1831. B.301. M.L.S.
(29) Thomas to Committee, 15 March 1834. A.2838. M O.M.C.
(30) Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 1. B.301. M.L.S.

/66 cont./

597 because the family, for example, has no child or no small children or only children of one sex. It also happens that a child may one day like to remain in the house of its playmates and that it begs its parents to give their consent. The rather involuntary adoptive parents often do not object to having the burden of another eater whom they must also clothe, especially if the child is a help in the house.

592 184 565 The statements and accounts given above refer in each case to all village inhabitants. These are mostly commoners. However, nobles and commoners who have risen to respected positions (clergymen, administrative officials, teachers, traders) also live in those villages. Their households do not differ much from those of the rest of the commoners. For example, in 1952 the widower Malupo (in 'Uiha), one of the highest ranking chiefs (nopele) on Tonga, lived together with his daughter, his grandson, the latter's wife and their four children on a property that consists of a small wooden living (=sleeping house, a cook hut, a small bath house and a latrine hut. The structure of family and household in the urban seaports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu is also very similar to that described on the small islands.

178 (175) The old sources naturally do not give us exact data that permit detailed comparisons of present-day Tongan family life with that of pre-European times.

178 565 (595) (594) We can, however, see that in general no great change has taken place in the family life of commoners. For polygamy was practiced mostly in the upper classes, and in ancient Tonga, as today, lower class families consisted of husband, wife and children (also adopted children). (189)

189. Compare E. W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/. p. 15ff.

/66 cont./

585 The marriage was, of course, entered into only in accordance with
581 ancient Tongan custom (festivity). The legal marriage (registration)
and the church wedding may have contributed to a certain stabilization
583 of marriage. "Flight marriages" (that is, lovers who are of age
585 marrying against the will of their parents by fleeing to another
178 island in the Archipelago and registering their marriage there) which
565 occasionally takes place today, probably did not occur in ancient
Tonga in this form. For the commoners (190)

190. The great majority of commoners were farmers (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 300).

were bound to the soil far more than they are today. They cultivated
[427] the land of the chiefs which the latter /67/ lent them against duties,
[571] and they were so greatly dependent on their masters that they were
permitted under no circumstances to change from one territorial
565 jurisdiction to another. Working his individual land naturally gave
585 the commoner more freedom. The far fewer economic burdens probably
178 had a beneficial effect on family life, for they usually gave it a
581 sounder basis.--From the preceding account and the figures given it
[591] becomes clear that the family has remained predominantly patrilocal
[611] and patrilinear. The way of life of commoners in pre-European times
[582] suggests that the marriage partners came from the same locality even
more than is the case today.

565 A considerable change took place in the family life of nobles.
178 As a result of the Christianization of the Archipelago they gave up
595 polygamy, apparently with littly resistance, and today they lead a
married life resembling that of commoners. Monogamy is thus
593 practiced by all the people, at least outwardly. While wives are
837 mostly faithful to their husbands, many husbands take the liberty of
[178] having affairs with other girls or women. This is apparently an

/70 cont./

887 work along with them to the extent that they are able or disposed, to and try to make themselves useful, the way they have apparently always done. At the same time they enjoy the respect of the younger ones. (202)

202. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 97.

177 178 Thus one may say that the old family structure of the broad masses of the Tongan populace (including the commoners) has endured with scarcely any change. Monogamy of commoners and the structure (799) (595) (592) of their households were quite in keeping with the ideas of the missionaries who were the most important representatives of European influences during the decisive decades. Ancient Tongan (585) (423) (642) marriage was strengthened by Christian doctrine, as well as by the church wedding, (203)

203. Including registration with public authorities. and by individual land ownership (lifelong tenancy) resulting from the new Constitution of 1875. The epoch that began with Christianization, 177 799 on the other hand, brought certain, to some extent decisive, /71/ innovations in family living. The frequent church attendance, family prayers, and the absolute hallowing of Sunday, as well as children's daily school attendance introduced by the missionaries, created, at least temporarily, a new family organization. Yet even (581) the most zealous puritanical missionaries have to this day not succeeded in entirely suppressing the freer Tongan attitudes toward marriage. (204)

(837) 204. Typical seems the case of the married Tongan F. who is an intimate friend of various girls and women of his village, and assured the author that for a long time after each nocturnal visit with his girl friends he was very careful to observe "whether anything happened from above"; yet he had to say that he never experienced a punishment from heaven for his behavior.

/317 cont./
fabrics in their traditional manner as a cloak or in the shape of an Arabian kanzu, (48)

48. Underneath this, perhaps a European shirt and shorts as well, the chiefs more often with long pants under the kanzu and a European jacket over it.

while the women who do not wear bark cloth have extended their old garment up to their shoulders and given it straps and short sleeves. In this way a sort of national costume has been created, comparable to the so popular vala in Tonga.

In the social realm it is worth noting that polygamy among the Baganda, in contrast to conditions in the Tonga Archipelago, has not been entirely given up in its old form, though it has very much decreased and its years seem numbered. The Christian moral code, as on the South Sea Islands, is by no means strictly followed, and illegitimate children are likewise taken into the community without particular discrimination. The Baganda have also proved conservative to the extent that they cling, in their fashion, to their old classificatory kinship terms, like the Tongans. With regard to stages of life (marriage, birth, death) much that is old has been preserved and partly linked with new customs. Thus the traditional bride price among this people still plays a very important role, and to legalize a marriage this is more important, even for the most devout, than the church wedding. The customs surrounding the transfer of the bride to her husband have, however, been changed to a certain extent in keeping with the European-Christian conception.--Little seems to have changed in the customs associated with birth and the treatment of the newborn child. Yet here too, as in Tonga, practically every child receives the Christian baptism; the old customs of name-giving, which were once important among the Baganda, are being more and more ignored.-With regard to death and burial, these Africans prove quite conservative,